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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,042 June 15, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express) Edition: 10 cts.

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE SPREADING IN USA

Students spark new bus boycott

TALLAHASSEE, Florida, state capital and a well-known resort city, has become the scene of a city-wide non-violent bus boycott patterned after the six months old Montgomery, Alabama protest. The city's 14,392 Negroes are preparing for a prolonged and orderly struggle.

The Tallahassee boycott was touched off in a manner similar to the famed Montgomery struggle. Two Negro girls, students at Florida A and M University for Negroes, were arrested on May 26 for refusing to vacate their seats in the "white" section of the bus—the only vacant ones when they boarded the bus.

The girls, Wilhelmina Jakes, 26, and Carrie F. Patterson, 20, had told the bus driver when he asked them to move to the rear that they preferred to leave if he would refund the fares. He called the police instead, and they were arrested on a charge of placing themselves in a position to cause a riot. A University official described the girls as "good students and in good standing."

STUDENTS VOTE BOYCOTT

The girls were released on \$25 bail each pending a hearing in a police court on June 1. On Sunday a flaming cross was thrown from a car to the lawn of the girls' rooming house. Misses Jakes and Patterson took refuge in the university's women's dormitory.

The next day, May 28, members of the 2,600 strong student body at the University met in the university auditorium and heard speeches by three of their leaders, including the student president, Broadus Hartley.

He called the arrests the latest "in a series of incidents in which we have been humiliated by bus drivers." The students voted for a boycott.

Hartley later said: "I would not call it a boycott. We are just refraining from riding the buses until we can have assurance that we will receive better treatment."

Shortly after the meeting, students began circulating bus boycott petitions.

The boycott quickly spread among the other Negro townspeople and by Monday midnight, Gilbert Porter, a leader in the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and Executive Secretary of the Florida State Teachers' Association, was able to tell the New York Negro weekly Amsterdam News that every Negro in the city is lining up.

The Rev. C. K. Steele of Bethel Baptist Church, and President of the local NAACP, came to the forefront as leader of the Tallahassee non-violent struggle.

He is also President of the Inter-Civic Council which is leading the boycott.

The Council was created at a mass rally of all Negro groups in the city held on May 29 at the Bethel Baptist Church.

The city's mayor, Frank Winterle estimated that about 90% of the city's bus riders were Negro (other estimates were 60%) and warned that a boycott would ruin the company.

By the rush hour Monday it was reported that the line running through the heart of the Negro district did not have any passengers, and that the protest was 90% effective.

"DECENT AND ORDERLY"

Florida has no anti-boycott law similar to that under which leaders of the Montgomery, Alabama struggle were arrested.

The Florida State NAACP Secretary, R. W. Sanders of Tampa, is helping with the boycott. He said:

"The car pool is operating effectively and more and more cars are joining it. A great amount of sympathy is being received from other parts of Florida and offers of financial help have come in from 10 different cities in the State."

City officials attempted to head off the boycott by dropping the charges against the two Negro co-leads, but most of the city's Negroes walked to work or used the car pool.

The Inter-Civic Council have resolved to stop riding the buses until we have satisfaction."

Leaders of the Council have presented three demands to City Manager Hopkins and C. Carter, the manager of Cities Transit, Inc., on his company: (1) The right to be seated on a first-come, first-served basis. (2) More courtesy by bus drivers and an end to insults and intimidation. (3) The employment of Negro bus drivers on routes where Negro passengers predominate.

These were the same immediate demands in Montgomery, where Negroes now demand an end of bus segregation.

Addressing a meeting in Bethel Baptist Church, Mr. Sanders told 500 Negroes: "As long as you go about what you're doing in an orderly, and legal manner, you will

H-DUST PERIL

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COLONIES

Eileen Fletcher answers

Mr. Lennox-Boyd

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

EILEEN FLETCHER has declared that she has no intention of withdrawing any of her statements on Kenya. Speaking at a mass London rally on Human Rights in the Colonies last Friday evening, she declared, "I have seen things in Kenya that I can never forget as long as I live."

Answering allegations against her by Mr. Lennox-Boyd (see page three), she told the large crowd assembled under the auspices of the Movement for Colonial Freedom:

"I challenge him on the statement that I never complained to the Government. I challenge his statement that I never wrote a word about what I had seen for six months."

"Mr. Lennox-Boyd has made very strange remarks about young girls in prison. I said I had taught girls of 11 and 12 sentenced to life imprisonment and seven years hard labour."

"One month ago the Governor said that I was right in every particular. Then Mr. Lennox-Boyd said 'a regrettable error' had been made. The girls were now said to be 15 and 15½."

"I would ask Mr. Lennox-Boyd two things. 'If it was a 'regrettable error,' what did the Magistrate think, what did the Governor think, and what did the prison Commandant think when he saw those ages on the prison record?'"

"Mr. Lennox-Boyd says he has a signed statement to say the girls are 15 and 15½ be-

BECHUANALAND Brockway on next steps

Asked by Peace News to comment on the situation in Bechuanaland Protectorate, Fenner Brockway said on Monday:

"I HAVE a question down for this week relating to a woman prisoner, Mmiamyana Nassase."

"I am asking the Under-Secretary for Colonial Relations if he is aware that at Seruli, prior to the trial, this woman was handcuffed, tied to two lion traps, left without food for 28 hours, and confined during the night in a cement-floored hut without a blanket, by the order of the Subordinate Native Authority; that the handcuffs were tightened during the hearing to make her tell the truth and she was subsequently discharged. I am requesting the Under-Secretary to take steps to prevent such treatment recurring."

"I have received a memorandum, signed by 49 leading members of the Hamangwato Tribe, asking for an inquiry into a series of allegations which have been made. I have forwarded it to the Under-Secretary, and have a question down for June 21, asking what reply he has made to their letter."

"The Labour Party has requested a date for a debate upon the situation in Bechuanaland and particularly a reconsideration of the banishment of Seretse."

Fenner Brockway concluded his statement by expressing his appreciation to Peace News for publishing the facts about the situation in the Protectorate. The articles are to be available in pamphlet form next week, illustrated. Price 9d. (11d. post free).

NEW COLOUR BAR MOVES IN S. AFRICA

By Oliver Caldecott

Former President, South African Students' Union

THE Movement for Colonial Freedom Conference on South Africa, last weekend in London, came at an appropriate moment, for not only is the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference taking place later in July, but the South African Government has announced further steps in its programme of apartheid, steps which add weight to the growing volume of criticism from overseas.

Latest reports indicate that if the Government is successful in its removal of Coloured Voters from the Common Roll, it will set about eliminating the last vestiges of political influence from the African people, by taking away their right to elect three European "Representatives" to the Union Parliament's Lower House.

At present the whole procedure by which the Nationalists attacked the Coloured vote is *sub judice*—the Cape Supreme Court has upheld the legality of the Senate Act which increased Nationalist strength in the Upper House and enabled the Government to obtain a two-thirds majority in Parliament for the Separate Representation of Voters Act, and the matter is on appeal.

For many years the Courts have proved a stumbling block to Nationalist plans to take away all political influence from Non-Whites but with a dogged persistence worthy of a better cause they have returned to the attack and today look certain—having packed the Appellate Division—of obtaining at last the Court's blessing.

Once the Cape Coloured voters are sepa-

ately "represented" the separate representation of the Africans will go. Who can doubt that the Coloureds' representation will be abolished, too, as soon as it becomes inconvenient?

Tomlinson Report

Then there is the Tomlinson Report. The South African Government appointed a Commission to work out the implementation of full and complete apartheid: what would it cost and how could it be done?

This Commission reported a few months ago, and the results of its investigations were briefly these: in the first place, total apartheid, the formation of two exclusive and separate, independent areas for White and Black was an impossibility but an approximation to this "ideal" state of affairs might be achieved (with the numbers of Black and White approximately equal in the White area) after the Native Reserves were rehabilitated and industrialised and the High Commission territories

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Popular press plays down warning

THE British Atomic Hazards Committee warned in a report on Tuesday that:

★ The H-bomb has created a new and continuing hazard from radio active dust affecting water and food.

★ If the Powers step up their tests they may produce ill-effects to which children are specially vulnerable. Forty H-bombs would so poison the atmosphere as to present serious risk to health.

★ Important evidence of strontium, released by H bombs in the last two years, was found by scientists in the skeletons of one-year-old children in Britain.

★ There was six times more than in adult bones and six times less than in bones of sheep fed on contaminated land.

★ On mountain pastures at Chilton and at Milford Haven the strontium in sheep bones was ten times higher than the average for other places—probably due to heavy rain washing down the poison dust.

These warnings are expressed in cautious and calculated terms, the News Chronicle reported, in the Medical Research Council's report to the Government on "The Hazards to Man of Nuclear and Allied Radiations" (Stationery Office, 5s. 6d.).

The experts suggest that exposure to radiation from X-rays and other sources should be reduced as much as possible to avoid their effect gradually building up.

The report was played down in all the other popular daily newspapers.

The four-million circulation Daily Express failed to mention the report at all.

Of the class newspapers the Manchester Guardian gave great prominence to the report. The London Times moved it from a leading position in the two-star edition to a third column position in the later three-star edition.

cause they were circumcised. Has he consulted any authority to find out at what age girls are circumcised?

"And if they are now 15 and 15½ what age were they when they were put into prison two years ago?"

"I would also ask him at what age juvenile female convicts can be sentenced to solitary confinement in a dark cell. I have seen juveniles put in there for singing Mau Mau hymns—those were girls who had never before lived alone."

"I would ask Mr. Lennox-Boyd on what authority it was put in the Kenya press that the girls were not doing hard work but were gardening. I have a report signed by the Commandant saying that female juvenile life convicts were working on building."

She told how when she was leaving prisons, the girls, sad to see her leave, said they were afraid that now they would be forgotten.

"I say now to the British public, don't let Mr. Lennox-Boyd forget those girls."

Fenner Brockway, MP, Chairman of the meeting, declared that those questions would be repeated to Mr. Lennox-Boyd in the House of Commons.

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

Other speakers at the rally included Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, Lady Megan Lloyd-George, Victor Gollancz, Canon Collins, and Aneurin Bevan, MP.

Mr. Benn, the first speaker of the rally, spoke of the need to establish in the colonies basic human rights. "We will never be taken seriously or deserve to be taken seriously until we have righted those things for which we are responsible."

The most appalling of all are those people who are detained without any trial throughout the colonies.

"More Africans are detained in Kenya without trial," he declared, "than there are Europeans in the colony. Nearly 700 have died while under detention."

He spoke of the manhandling of prisoners which takes place in Kenya. He recalled the outbreak of horror when it was reported that Germany used those methods against British prisoners of war, and declared that now it was we who were doing the same thing.

There had been 17,000 floggings in the colonies, he said. There is provision in a considerable number of these territories for deportation without trial or any judicial process.

Publications and movement of persons are controlled, and now offences are constantly created.

CHALLENGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

He read sections from the American Declaration of Independence. "The challenge of this century is the challenge of human rights," he concluded.

His speech was interrupted by heckling and shouting by members of the League of Empire Loyalists. Several—who refused to obey the chairman—were removed from the hall after fighting with members of the audience.

Lady Megan Lloyd-George declared that "If only even one tenth of what Miss Fletcher has said is true, we should be shocked into indignation."

She said that fifty years ago there were concentration camps in Africa. Now, "there are concentration camps again in Africa. They are now called internment camps, detention camps. We are told they are not the same things... but it seems to me... that they are the same things."

"I believe we are doing things in Africa and Cyprus that are creating bitterness that will

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June 15th, 1956

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3 Blackstock Road,
London, N.4
Tel.: STAmford Hill 2262

**PEACE
NEWS**

Distribution office for U.S.A.
130 Brattle St.
Cambridge 38 Mass.

WAR AND EMPIRE

WAR is an effort by one country or bloc to impose its will upon another country or bloc by means of organised military force. Pacifists oppose war because it is a denial of the infinite worth of every human being, because it teaches men to murder, because it destroys in men something of their humanity, because evil means cannot achieve good ends, as figs do not grow from thistles.

The Twentieth Century has been the bloodiest in human history. Even before World War II it had a war volume ten times larger than that of all previous human history combined.

This period has seen also the rise of the Power State. Total war and the Power State are both expressions of the violence of our age. Each depends on the other, and that which weakens one weakens the other.

One of the early steps in the development of the Power State was the spread of economic and political imperialism. This was expressed in the absorption by some States of nearby territories and in colonialism—the foreign domination of a people for economic and military benefit and the increase of power. This imperialist domination was either blatantly achieved by military means at the outset or military measures were soon resorted to.

Rationalisations were created—and are still with us—to ease the consciences of European "Christians" who had become imperial warlords: the subject people were "inferior," the white man had a "burden" to bring "civilisation" to the "savages." These pleas were used to convince men of what they inwardly knew was wrong.

EACH conquered land enabled the rising Power State to maintain and increase its over-all position of economic, political and military dominance. Modern war would be a rather different phenomenon if a few States did not control the economic resources, manpower and military bases in these conquered lands.

The situation is now changing. Because India, for example, is politically independent, Britain can no longer declare war on her behalf. She cannot rely on India's economic resources or manpower for war. She can no longer, without permission, use her land, sea and air bases for war. A similar resulting reduction in military potential would follow if the United States no longer had Puerto Rico and Okinawa, or the Soviet Union no longer had Azerbaijan and Lithuania.

Another indication of the changing situation is that most of the countries now standing between the two Power Blocs—thus reducing military polarisation and the likelihood of war—are former colonial territories: i.e., India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Sudan.

All is not yet well, however. In the Kenya debate in the House of Commons last Wednesday someone suggested that Mombasa make "an admirable harbour for defence purposes in that part of the Indian Ocean and, eventually, of the Pacific" if Trincomalee has to be abandoned because of independent Ceylon's new policy.

Britain's desire to hold Mombasa as a base may someday result in new repression of the non-Europeans in Kenya in an effort to maintain military advantage resulting from minority settler and colonial domination.

Imperialism and its expression in colonialism are blatant evils which ought to be opposed by all decent human beings. But they are special evils for pacifists. They are even more relevant to anti-war activity than many other evils which violate human worth, such as capital punishment.

THE struggle against colonialism is inherently a vital part of the struggle against war. Colonial rule is maintained by military and quasi-military force. Colonialism means that the occupying power has at its control for war purposes the manpower, economic resources, military bases, and even the whole territory of that occupied land.

If the foreign rule is cast off, then the war-making potential of the occupying Power State is reduced. The concentration of military power is thus broken up. The area of the world automatically involved in a war between the Power States is reduced. Even the ability of those Power States to conduct a war is diminished.

An end to colonialism and imperialism would not automatically mean an end to war, but it would mean that both a major cause of conflict had been removed and that it would not be so easy to precipitate a world-wide conflagration.

In a colony, when the ruling nation seeks to continue its foreign military domination in the face of the opposition of the people of that occupied country, that ruling power has declared war.

That war, like every other, the pacifist opposes.

Hyenas and prisons in Nyasaland

THIS Peace News feature has a new base—Blantyre, Nyasaland.

Although Nyasaland was at one time tagged East Africa, it is today a part of the Federation and consequently regarded as Central Africa.

The country is a little over 550 miles from north to south and some 50 miles east to west.

It has as its borders Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Mozambique. The huge Lake Nyasa is an attraction to European tourists both from the Rhodesias and South Africa.

Blantyre and Limbe, two surprisingly ugly little towns five miles apart, form the commercial capital of this scenically beautiful country.

Zomba, the seat of Government, is set in the side of the great mountain of that name and is 40 miles north of Blantyre.

Rising tension

Nyasaland might almost be an island, so divorced does it seem from other parts of this vast continent.

Hustle and bustle has passed it by. The country today jogs along very much as though it cocks a snoot at progress and its attendant snags and advantages. Yet evidence of material development is seen daily.

Nyasaland is a country which has seldom got itself into the world Press. Before the last war it was one of the Cinderellas of British territories in Africa.

There was never any trouble between settler and native.

Not that there is any apparent friction today. White folk still go about their business, whether it be tea or tobacco planting, Government

BASIL DELAINE'S CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMENTARY

or trade, without any serious clash with the happy-go-lucky Nyasaland African.

But how long will it last?

Below this veneer of co-operative-ness is an ever-growing streak of nationalism. The average hard-working, uneducated native is becoming more conscious of the Nyasaland African Congress—the chief all-African political party in the country.

It was only a few months ago that the Congress scored its first triumph by sweeping all five Legislative Council seats reserved for Africans.

At that time Mr. J. F. Sangala, President-General of the organisation, commenting on the election results, said—"It has clearly shown that the Congress is the mouthpiece of the African people of Nyasaland. I am sure there will be no more argument about the popularity of my organisation."

As to whether that election result signifies that Congress is "popular" is debatable. Most voters in outlying districts had no idea of why or for whom they were voting.

Nevertheless, however, much the European settler discounts the Congress as a power in the land it is undoubtedly, for good or bad, the Africans' mouthpiece.

Mr. Sangala was in the news again



THE recent elections for the Italian provincial and municipal councils became a matter of international interest because it was realised that they would show, in anticipation of the parliamentary elections to come in 1958, in which direction political feeling and public opinion were moving.

An added point of interest was that they practically coincided with the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the republic—an occasion on which the monarchists and neo-fascists were certain to do all they could to increase their representative strength.

They failed completely. The existing regime has emerged strengthened, with monarchists and neo-fascists on one side, and the Communists on the other, losing seats to the more moderate parties in a contest in which 91 per cent of the voters went to the polls.

The middle-road parties themselves have moved slightly more to the left. The Christian Democrats remain the largest single party.

The Nenni Socialists have improved their position and are now less dependent on co-operation with the Communists, whose leader Togliatti could not manage to extricate himself from the awkward situation in which he found himself, after his fervid Stalin worship, when Moscow performed the great turn-about.

But the process of government (if the parliamentary elections produce the same results) will continue to be one of compromise between the Christian Socialists and one or another of the moderate parties.

The extremists at both ends will still be a potential danger to stability. It is something to be thankful for that this danger has at least diminished.

Bulgaria's letter

THE Russian Government is today engaged in a very persistent and enterprising "peace offensive" of a quite different kind from the period when "peace" came to be a "dirty word" because it was associated with a propaganda that so often seemed to be belied by the Russian attitude in diplomatic relations.

The new move that has been made in the letter from Marshal Bulganin to President Eisenhower and the leaders of the other Western powers comes at a time when the Khrushchov speech confirming the worst that was said by critics of Communist policy during the Stalin period is being given full publicity.

We think that the Russian Government would do well today to bring into its representations in the field of international affairs an explicit disavowal of some of the earlier attitudes for which Stalin policy was responsible.

Such an approach would add to the embarrassment that the Western statesmen are so obviously feeling and would increase the pressure that will be needed to compel them to bring their policies under racial review.

This new approach makes the suggestion that the Western powers

might well follow the Russian lead in removing their armed forces from Germany.

There is no positive avowal that this may make negotiations for German reunification easier, but the move will inevitably appeal to the German people as offering promise of such a possibility.

Direct negotiations

THE Germans have now in addition a very formidable reason for thinking again about their situation in the Western military set-up.

As we have already pointed out the Russian reductions in armaments clear out of the way the anticipation that it is the Russian intention to invade Western Europe.

This means that should Germany now become involved in war it will be an atomic war to be fought out

Italy Disarmament Kenya Germany

primarily between Russia and the USA, with Germany as an early objective for H-bombing in order to remove such monster US military centres as Kaiserslautern.

However much the livelihood of the inhabitants of such neighbourhoods may have come to depend on US military policy they are inevitably destined to be the first victims to be removed by an H-bomb in any new large scale war.

Another proposal that seems to be implied in Marshal Bulganin's letter is that there should be an attempt between the US and the USSR to settle in direct negotiations outside the framework of the UN Disarmament Commission the question of an agreed reduction of armaments.

After recent experiences this seems to be the obviously reasonable approach. As the schedule of reductions that would have limited Russia and America to a maximum of 1,500,000 men under arms was vetoed by the US after having been agreed upon by France, Britain and Russia it is clearly desirable that the two great armed leviathans, whose conflict dominates the world, should try to seek agreement in direct negotiation with each other.

Kenya inquiry

THE Kenya debate in the House of Commons stirred deep feelings. Both Labour and the Conservatives admitted there were "grave charges" made.

The Government spokesmen made no serious reference to Labour's repeated requests for a full independent inquiry into detention camps, prisons, operation of emergency powers, etc.

If the Government refuses, as we believe it will, to undertake such a step, then we urge the Labour Party to finance such an independent inquiry, preferably including members of other political parties and independents.

This would give the Labour Party a chance to prove that it is taking seriously its concern for the rights of the non-White peoples of Kenya.

There would be difficulties in such a venture, but we see none great enough to prevent it. If the Govern-

ment should not allow such an inquiry, then the public will know who fears the truth.

But if Labour rests content with asking the Government to undertake an inquiry into affairs already under its control many will wonder how deep its concern is in Kenya affairs.

Based on violence

DURING the debate pleas were made by the Government benches to understand what these past years of Mau Mau have meant to the lonely European farmer in constant fear for the lives of his family and himself.

Strong reassurances came from Labour that they realised and appreciated this.

We, too, realise that it is a terrible experience that the White settlers in Kenya have had. But we wish that the Conservative speakers had expressed a little of the same human concern for the plight of the Africans.

When considering the sufferings of Whites in Kenya, let us remember that their control of Kenya's political and economic life is based upon violence.

The White settlers of Kenya whose whole position there is founded upon and maintained by violence and threat of violence against Africans are in no moral position to condemn the Africans for using violence against White oppression.

Oppression's chains

WITH all due regard for the sufferings of the Whites, they must realise that their only real alternative to constant fear lies in their individually and as a group admitting that their privileged status is immoral, and then setting out to live on the basis of equal rights with the Africans, Asians and Arabs.

Only thus will they be freed from the spiritual and social chains by which the oppressor binds himself.

It remained for Leslie Hale to say in the debate, that if the ruling group of the settlers are determined to stand in the way of the legitimate advancement of five million Africans, then those settlers "must get out of the way."

We plead with Kenya's settlers to either live on the basis of equal rights with Africans, or to leave Kenya. If they are to be spared more bloodshed in the future, it seems these are the only alternatives they possess.

Federation

SOME surprise has been occasioned by the support given to increased contacts with East Germany by Horst Kaiser, the Federal Minister for German Affairs. He has proposed specific measures for developing trade and cultural relations between the two zones.

If such proposals are to be taken seriously they must lead to a recognition of the East German Government, and they represent an important step towards unification which can only be achieved when the Germans themselves agree on the methods to be used.

Some observers think the best hope lies in some form of federation for the whole of Germany which would involve acceptance of a disarmament neutrality as providing the best guarantee to Germany's neighbours and as best serving the economic and industrial interests of a united Germany.

From the Editor's Notebook

Reason to be proud

FOR the Movement for Colonial Freedom to have drawn such a large audience to the Central Hall last Friday was a great achievement. Public meetings are at a low ebb these days.

Peace Pledge Union member Douglas Rogers who, with Fenner Brockway, had worked for years to rouse the public conscience through the forerunner of the MCF, the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, is now in the Gold Coast so could not see the growth of this great cause.

The PPU can well be proud of its early affiliation to this movement which now has the support of four million people.

Need for non-violence

NYE BEVAN received a great ovation when he sat down after what was, I believe, his first speech on an MCF platform. But I think an even greater reception was given to Eileen Fletcher when she rose to speak.

To Victor Gollancz must go the credit for winding up the evening with an emphasis on the need for non-violence in the struggle for

colonial freedom, a note already introduced by Fellowship of Reconciliation member Canon Collins.

I much admired the way Victor Gollancz damped down what might well have proved a second ugly incident during the meeting, occasioned by heckling from an Empire Loyalist.

More than £20 worth of literature, much of it on the subject of non-violence, was sold at the bookstall organised by Peace News.

He'll subscribe

MANY readers are using the coupon on page 5 for eight week gift subscriptions to friends overseas.

A sisal planter in Tanganyika has been one recipient of a Peace News "gift sub." He has told the donor "I agree with you that it is a very good paper indeed, and when the 'sub' that you so kindly arranged is finished I will renew it for another year."

He adds that he passes the copy on to an Indian worker on the estate. "He was thrilled to bits. He said that it is what Nehru is aiming at..."

KENYA: INQUIRY DEMANDED

House debates Peace News exposures

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

THE debate on Kenya in the House of Commons last week centred largely around the allegations by Miss Eileen Fletcher, the former rehabilitation worker in Kenya, and the disclosures in Peace News. Indignant MPs demanded a full reply from the Government to the charges.

Mr. Fenner Brockway (Lab., Eton and Slough) produced the pamphlet reprinted from Peace News of Miss Fletcher's articles which, he said, contained the essential facts.

The debate was conducted in a tense atmosphere, chiefly because of the blunt refusal of Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, to reply to the charges until he wound up at the end. Mr. Aneurin Bevan (Lab., Ebbw Vale) appealed to him to speak earlier, but Mr. Lennox-Boyd indicated that he preferred to wait and hear what MPs had to say before intervening.

He left it to his lieutenant, Mr. John Hare, Minister of State for the Colonies, to open for the Government and this Minister refuted the allegation that girls of 11 and 12 were

imprisoned in Kenya. But his denial was a sketchy one and he left it to his chief to supply the details at the end of the debate.

It was clear that Mr. Lennox-Boyd had some sort of announcement to make and his refusal to speak until the end lent the debate a certain unreality.

Charges refuted

Miss Fletcher's allegations in "Peace News" were quoted and documents produced in support of them. After Mr. Brockway's detailed evidence it seemed the case was proved and Mr. Lennox-Boyd's silence served to irritate the Opposition.

Eventually, the Colonial Secretary said that the complaints concerning the ages of the imprisoned girls were due to an error in the prison records. It was, he said, a regrettable mistake.

He told the House that on May 19 he was informed by the Governor of Kenya that 21 young girls were serving prison sentences at Kamiti women's camp under the apparent age of 16, of whom, said the Governor, seven were 15, eight were 14, five were 13 and one was 12 years of age.

Eleven days later, on May 29, the Governor telegraphed him to say that the ages he had given had been wrongly quoted owing to "inaccuracy in the prison records."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd quoted the Governor as saying: "All have now been medically examined and their approximate ages are medically certified to be 15 in three cases, 15½ in one case, 16½ in one case, and 17½ in one case."

Mr. Brockway, he said, was quite entitled to be misled by what was actually a prison record error.

Mr. Bevan pointed out that these records were signed by the Commissioner of Prisons, and it was an extraordinary coincidence, surely, that the ages should all have been wrong.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that no court in Kenya could sentence anyone under 14 years of age and that, by itself, was a sufficiently good indication that there was an error on the document.

This report on the Kenya Debate last Wednesday in the House of Commons—the first full debate on Kenya in 15 months—does, necessarily, not cover many important aspects of the 6½-hour debate.

This included such subjects as the ending of the emergency, the detainees, conditions in detention camps and prisons, rehabilitation methods, villagisation, the Courts Report, the use of land, the coming elections, qualifications for voters and the advisability of separate or common voters roles.

The entire debate is available in Hansard, Vol. 553, No. 164, available from Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 11d. post free. We plan, however, in future issues to reprint sections of a few of the speeches which seemed to us particularly important.

Mr. Bevan: "If the courts do, in fact, sentence a prisoner in this way, would the Commissioner be committing an offence by signing a document to the effect that he had accepted the custody of a person illegally imprisoned?"

"He would, indeed," replied the Colonial Secretary, "if it had been the fact that a court had sentenced someone under 14 and the Commissioner had received him. It would be an improper act. But the fact is that they were not under 14 and I can only ascribe the error in the documents to the tragic amount of work that faced people at that time."

Mr. Bevan said that, if an error had been made, Miss Fletcher was entitled to believe that the ages which had been certified by the Commissioner were, in fact, the right ages. Therefore her evidence was given in good faith.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd agreed and declared that he was not making any charge against Miss Fletcher.

"Even if I had not got the proof I was not going to do that," he added.

Miss Fletcher supported

The debate was opened by Mr. Creech Jones (Lab., Wakefield), former Colonial Secretary, who, in the course of a broad attack on the Government's Kenya policy, said that a strict inquiry seemed to be called for into the treatment of young persons in Kenya. In the prison compounds the girls mixed freely with criminal women. They had received no proper training, education or instruction.

In some cases they had been sentenced to solitary confinement for delinquencies. It was a system which would not be defended by any MP.

Mr. Hare, in his initial defence of the situation, complained that Miss Fletcher had brought none of her charges to the attention of the authorities of Kenya.

Mr. Jones immediately refuted that. Before leaving Kenya, he said, Miss Fletcher had seen the Chief Secretary and gave him the information she had used in this country. She warned him that, unless something were done, she would be obliged to inform the British public of what she had discovered.

Mr. Hare dealt with the allegation that girls aged 11 and 12 had been sentenced to long

terms of imprisonment and declared that this was "utterly untrue."

"What I have said is backed up by representatives of the Churches and of the Society of Friends in Kenya, who are closer to these matters than many people in this country," he added.

Mr. John Dugdale (Lab., West Bromwich) said he had met Miss Fletcher and was very much impressed not only by her honesty and sincerity but by her common sense and her ability to investigate problems.

It appeared, he said, that there were children of 11 and there had been in the past children of six and seven years of age in camps on their own without their parents. He understood that children under seven could no longer be kept in such conditions, but apparently it was not until Miss Fletcher made her allegations that this alteration was made.

If only half of Miss Fletcher's charges were proven it meant that the detention camps in Kenya, for which the Government were responsible, had many features bearing a close resemblance to those in the Iron Curtain countries.

Mr. Brockway's speech

Particular interest was shown in the speech of Mr. Brockway, who said that, following the Peace News article, he had written to Miss Fletcher asking her for dates, prison numbers and details of the prison records.

He read three cases to the House. The first was that of an 11-year-old Kikuyu girl charged with two counts of taking illegal oaths and sentenced to two years' hard labour and five years' hard labour, consecutive.

The second case concerned a 12-year-old who was given a life sentence for consorting, and the third was another 12-year-old sentenced to life imprisonment for consorting with armed persons.

Dealing with Miss Fletcher's charge that juveniles in Kenya were put to hard labour, Mr. Brockway quoted this statement she had given to him: "I have seen girls carrying pise blocks which are quite heavy and young women carrying bowls of mud for brick making. A prison visitor complained of them having to cut up large tree roots."

Referring to Miss Fletcher's protest at unaccompanied children in detention camps, he said he had figures for the Kilgill camp, dated February 12, 1955. In that camp there were 476 men, 114 women and 217 children. Of the 217 children 31 were unaccompanied by any adult.

Then there was the case of the Langata detention camp where Miss Fletcher found a boy of four and a boy of seven who had no relative in the camp.

Mr. Frederick Bennett (Con., Torquay) said Miss Fletcher should have informed the Colonial Secretary of her complaints as soon

as she arrived in this country instead of writing articles in a newspaper six months later.

Major Patrick Wall (Con., Haltemprice) said that if Mr. Brockway had wanted immediate action taken it would have been better for him to have gone straight to the Colonial Secretary with his proof instead of waiting to make a speech in the House.

Mrs. Barbara Castle (Lab., Blackburn) said she had deliberately refrained from meeting Miss Fletcher because, as she had recently visited Kenya, she wanted to give her own impressions without being accused of any kind of collusion with the woman who had originated the charges.

She spoke of her experiences at the camps in Kenya, despite the attempts which were made to pull the wool over her eyes.

Barbara Castle also demanded an independent inquiry into conditions in Kenya, including the running of the camps, the operation of the emergency powers, and the use of detention orders and treatment of detainees.

She declared: "I say, in full recognition of what I am saying, that we are beginning to get in Kenya at this moment the continuation now of controls which were introduced for emergency purposes, purely for the sake of control."

She declared that no plans for Kenya would amount to very much "until we have begun by establishing the status of the African as a human being."

"Heaven knows," she said, "what Miss Fletcher has said about the past has been fully borne out from all kinds of reputable sources."

Moral integrity

Leslie Hale (Lab., Oldham, West) declared: "... if 4,000 settlers in Kenya ... determine to stand in the way—I hope they will not—of the legitimate advancement of five million Africans, then those settlers must get out of the way."

Concluding his speech, he declared: "At this moment a real struggle has started for the soul of Africa. The liberal conscience of Britain is becoming heard more than it has been for a long time; people are evolving a new conception of human rights and there is a new demand for human dignity. We cannot afford

HE WAS READING IT TOO



ON May 4 I used this space to appeal for money to defray the cost of the extra pages carrying Eileen Fletcher's first article on Kenya.

I little thought that a month later I should be sitting in the gallery at the House of Commons listening to a debate centred around that article and be looking down on a member on the Government benches reading Peace News.

On one issue at least we have broken through public apathy and stirred the conscience of the country.

We ask every reader in the weeks ahead to talk about Peace News; to win new readers; to raise funds so that continued publication of the paper can be ensured.

We are grateful to those Labour Party members, trade unionists, Quakers and other church groups who have come to our help at a time of financial difficulty.

May we appeal once again for more and more collections to be taken on our behalf at meetings, in clubs, factories, church groups, offices, in fact wherever an opportunity presents itself.

Our position is critical—too frequently our bank balance hovers at around £50. In the autumn we can begin raising some of the £2,000 we want to get from the sale of Christmas cards. This still leaves over £3,000 to be raised from this appeal.

The only wealthy backing we have is the good will and campaigning spirit of our readers. We ask for an extra effort now. THE EDITOR.

Contributions since June 1: £148 4s. 2d.

Total since January 1, 1956: £642 15s.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: from Sutton 5s.; Shepperton 5s.; L. Hand, Shaftesbury 5s.; "Anxious," Malden 15s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

BRITISH QUAKERS: 'END HANGING'

The following statement was issued from the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. A copy has been sent to the Home Secretary:

THE Society of Friends in its annual meeting welcomes the Bill now before the House of Commons for the removal of the death penalty for murder.

We feel that we should at this time declare once again our unwavering opposition to capital punishment. The sanctity of human life is one of the fundamentals of a Christian society and can in no circumstances be set aside. Our concern, therefore, is for all victims of violence, not only the murderer but also those who suffer by his act.

The sanctioning by the State of the taking of human life has a debasing effect on the community, and tends to produce the very brutality which it seeks to prevent.

We realise that many are sincerely afraid of the consequences if the death penalty is abolished, but we are convinced that their fears are unjustified.

We are thankful that so many of our fellow countrymen are actively facing this issue. We fervently hope that the Bill will be passed by Parliament without limitation.

to allow a small body of settlers by a policy of repression to lose the fundamental moral integrity of Britain which is tied up in this struggle."

Dame Irene Ward (Con., Tynemouth) said she did not believe the implications of Miss Fletcher's charges. She hoped the Colonial Secretary would refute them "up to the hilt."

Investigation demanded

Mr. Bevan, in his winding-up speech for the Opposition, said there had been a grave breakdown in communication between Parliament and what was happening in the Colonies. The Opposition had been considering this for some time and were going to make certain proposals to Parliament for revising the constitutional machinery.

Dealing with Miss Fletcher's allegations, he said the Colonial Secretary would not be doing justice to himself or the reputation of this country if he attempted to fob off the whole thing by casting doubt on the ability, the industry or the reputation of this witness.

"The facts are stated with too great circumstantiality to be dismissed in that way," he said.

He hoped Mr. Lennox-Boyd would either make a full reply or undertake an investigation which could be relied upon.

In his reply to the debate, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said Mr. Bevan had given him notice that the Opposition proposed to submit certain proposals for a change in the constitutional machinery concerning the dealings of the House with colonial affairs.

Any proposals that were made would be examined with an open mind. He shared the feeling that the system of Parliamentary question and answer in this field was not altogether a satisfactory way of exercising and showing the interest of the House of Commons in this matter.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd said there was no record of Miss Fletcher ever having brought to the notice of the Ministry which employed her the alleged conditions of which she complained.

She had a long interview with the Chief Secretary before her departure in which she made vigorous complaints, but they were complaints about purely personal matters, and she made no reference to maltreatment of detainees or juvenile offenders or any of the matters to which she had given publicity in her article.

It was obvious from the protests from the Labour benches following Mr. Lennox-Boyd's reply on the ages of young girls in Kenya prisons that Labour will not let the matter rest.

RE-OPEN CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

THE British National Peace Council, the 47-year-old body to which over 40 organisations are affiliated, has issued a statement urging the Government to adopt "a more flexible attitude" to the situation in Cyprus than it has so far shown.

The Council condemned Cypriot violence and also said that "it is equally impossible to justify in the face of world opinion many of the actions which have been undertaken by the Government to restore order."

"Since the deportation of Archbishop Makarios," the statement said, "the Government has depended entirely on military force, and its effect has been to alienate still further the population of the Island, as well as to damage severely our ancient friendship with Greece and our reputation in the eyes of our friends."

The Council urged "an imaginative understanding" of Cypriot demands.

"Our Government must recognise that Cyprus has a moral right to independence quite apart from Britain's strategic interests. It should also recognise that in the interests of international stability the relations of friendship which existed between Greek and Turk in the Island until recently must be restored."

To achieve these ends the NPC urged, "before extremism becomes dominant and irrevocable," the re-opening of negotiations "immediately" with Archbishop Makarios, making clear to him and to the rest of the world that Britain is ready to establish Cyprus as an independent country, the steps to that independence being subject to arrangement "between Britain and the acknowledged representatives of the Cypriot people."



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EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

By F. A. Lea

The Werkplaats Adventure, by Wyatt Rawson. Stuart, 12s. 6d.

THE Scylla and Charybdis of society are anarchy and despotism; of school, disorder and punishment. Few educationists steer clear of both; those who do, advance the free society further than all the politicians and parties put together.

Kees Boeke has been one of those few.

In his school, the Werkplaats at Utrecht, the Netherlands, now numbering some 850 boys and girls between the ages of 4 and 19, freedom and order are reconciled. The importance of such an achievement is incalculable.

It was time the history and methods of the Werkplaats were made more widely known in this country; and no one was better equipped for the task than Wyatt Rawson, whose book is the latest of a long series of services to British education.

Vivid, informative, admirably illustrated, it should interest not only teachers, but all who are concerned for the taught.

The Werkplaats was not founded, it grew. This may partly account for its success: for the reconciliation which society finds so hard is realised daily in the family, and Kees Boeke's family was the nucleus of his school.

There the ideal was embodied already; it did not need even to be formulated.

All that was needed, as more and more children joined his own, was to adopt whatever methods of teaching and discipline preserved the familiar spirit, to discard whatever did not.

Spontaneity and responsibility

That, of course, meant continual experiment, arduous and exacting. But Kees Boeke was a born experimenter. He has never been afraid to live by his theories of the good life, or—what is rarer still—to alter his theories when they failed to work out in practice.

As a pacifist, he was an "absolutist," refusing to compromise with the existing economy even to the extent of handling money until the impracticability, the ultimate sterility, of such a total dissociation from society came home to him.

From 1926-54, as head of a live institution, he showed the same courage and flexibility.

Since order can be maintained without force only where children (or adults for that matter) are interested in all their activities, and interest is the key to knowledge, it is not surprising that the methods evolved at the Werkplaats have proved outstandingly successful by academic and technical criteria.

On this account alone they would merit the attention of teachers, more especially, perhaps, of teachers in comprehensive schools.

But the comprehensive school will get us nowhere, unless it comprehends more than proficiency; and to rate "character" before proficiency is futile, unless the "character" desired be defined.

It is because it has made a union of spontaneity and responsibility its prime criterion that this great experiment has so much to teach: which those will be the keenest to learn who are most alive to the qualities required, for freedom-in-order to be more than a catch-phrase.

If it speaks highly for the Werkplaats that it now includes the recognised demonstration Kindergarten for the whole of Utrecht Province, that the Netherlands Government has accorded it a grant, and that Queen Juliana's daughters were among its latest pupils, it speaks more highly still for the Province, the Government and the Queen.

GANDHI'S LAST YEARS

By Horace Alexander

Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase, Vol. I, by Pyarelal, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, 30s.

THE first of two massive volumes, covering between them the last four, critical years of Gandhi's life, written with immense erudition and care by his devoted secretary, Pyarelal Nayyar, has now reached England.

It is a book that should be available in every public library. Gandhi, as the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, rightly says in his Introduction, did not invent the principle of non-violence; nor did he ever attempt to write an exhaustive thesis about it. What he did was to try to practise it every day of his life, in every relationship.

So the only way to learn the wisdom of Gandhi is to soak oneself in his writings and in his life-story. Study of these last years, as vividly told by Pyarelal, would make a fitting supplement to the study of his Autobiography. It is the kind of book to soak in for weeks or months.

Dr. Fosdick's religion

By PATRICK FIGGIS

What is Vital in Religion. A volume of sermons on contemporary Christian problems, by Harry Emerson Fosdick, SCM Press, London, 12s. 6d.

ON a certain Armistice Day in the early 1930s at the famous Riverside Church, New York, Dr. Fosdick ended a sermon with the words "I renounce war and never again,

YOUTH'S VIEW-POINT GOING PLACES!

By ERIC GREEN

DURING this summer a great multitude of young people will be leaving the shores of England for places such as Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and many other countries in Europe. Some will be going there to study at universities, others to Work Camps, building homes and churches, whilst most young people will be there for a holiday of walking, climbing, cycling, or just lazing on the shore of the blue Mediterranean sea.

Indeed many and varied will be the ways in which young people will be spending this summer across the water.

Maybe you are one of these young people with the wanderlust in your bones. You will,

directly or indirectly, will I sanction or support another!

Thus the basis of the Peace Pledge Union first received expression. So when, some twenty years later, another volume of sermons by the same independent-minded, courageous preacher is made available, readers of Peace News may naturally be interested.

But there is a further reason for commending these sermons. I believe that one major reason why pacifism has made such little headway in this country during the last ten years is the general decline of religious conviction.

Of course, there are pacifists who do not profess any religious convictions; but most of us, in my opinion, are not prepared for the implications of unilateral disarmament (which might be highly unpleasant) because we are not sure of God, of the reality of the spiritual world.

BELIEFS

If I am right, then to help people to a recovery of personal religious conviction is indeed a step in the direction of helping them to consider the claims of pacifism. And for that purpose I know of no better advocate of the Christian position than Dr. Fosdick; partly because his terms are real terms, his language real language, that anyone can understand.

In particular there is one sermon, preached on Lincoln's birthday, called "A religion to support democracy" that provides food for thought for those who believe in democracy, but who at present are unable to accept the claims of religion.

Dr. Fosdick believes that religion is essential for democracy; firstly, in order to dignify personality; secondly, to provide a higher loyalty than that of the state; thirdly, as a means of creating the equality and fraternity of the people; and fourthly, as a means of creating responsible, personal character in individual citizens. Maybe you don't agree!

But this sermon, and indeed the whole volume will repay careful reading.

maybe, be sharing with them the wonder and beauty of the cities, and lakes, the villages and the mountains of the Continent.

Not only will you come to realise this aspect of the countries through which you pass but also you will be meeting people, people with a different tradition and outlook on life to the one you have made your own.

What fun it will be meeting these people with their different ideas, and their own peculiar customs, and what fun it will be making them your friends and finding that despite differences in creed and language, race and custom those friendships can really mean something.

FRIENDSHIP

Your primary reason for going abroad is, no doubt, to hit the high spots and to reap a wealth of gaiety, excitement, and entertainment, plus, of course, a good healthy tan.

Today we can, and must, couple that with a sense of mission. As unconsciously as we can we must be breaking down, by friendship, the barriers of race, colour and creed.

By this coming and going modern youth can be ambassadors of peace, helping to remove fear, hatred and prejudice.

So far so good, but even now we haven't said enough. To make friends with people abroad is good but to identify oneself with the struggles and problems of these new-found friends is to do better. Youth today has no time for isolationism and in a rebellious way is feeling for that ideal of international brotherhood.

IDEALISM IN ACTION

This idealism coupled with action can change the face of the world of old ideas and accepted principles. Let us all help to forge these iron bands of friendship with those we meet so that there might surge through the youth movements of the world a new earnestness to bring to an end the international tension and misunderstanding that so threatens the peace of the world.

Let us by all means, whether it be with rucksack or suitcase, be going places this summer, but also let us go with a mission whose end is a peaceful revolution, breaking the bands that bind us as nations, and so set up a new freedom in a new world.

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The House of Commons debated
Eileen Fletcher's

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A child's life of Gandhi

AS TOLD BY
GERTRUDE MURRAY TO
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA
He reaches England

Last week we learnt how Gandhi, now a young lad of nineteen and dressed in European clothes, set sail for England in order that he might become a lawyer.

WHEN the ship arrived in the English port of Southampton, Gandhi put on a white flannel suit, thinking that this would be suitable for the month of September. When he landed, however, he found that the weather was far from summery, while he turned out to be the only person wearing white in the whole of Southampton.

Wherever he looked he could see only people in dark clothes. How angry he felt.

Worse still when he had gone to a hotel and taken a room, he was told that his luggage could not be sent to him until Monday. And it was a Saturday. Poor Gandhi. Two whole days more to spend dressed in that same white suit.

He felt terribly homesick, too, and cried when he thought how far away his family was. Everything about him looked so strange and foreign. There was not a single friend to whom he could say how lonely he was.

He did not like the food either. It was so different from anything he had ever eaten. So he ate almost nothing and was hungry as well as sad.

In spite of his dreadful loneliness, he did not once think of writing to his brother and asking to be allowed to return home, as many another boy would have done.

He knew that he must not disappoint his kind brother who had made sacrifices in order to get together the money for this journey to England. He had been sent here to study law and he would not go back till these studies were completed.

AFTER getting his luggage, Gandhi went on to London, where he was to study. There he found lodgings in the house of a widow who lived with her two daughters.

He lost no time in telling her that he could not eat meat and was pleased that she agreed to give him vegetarian dishes only. But

when the food was placed before him he could not eat it. The lady certainly cooked vegetables in a funny way—or at least Gandhi thought so.

He was much too shy to tell her this, however, so he just ate as little as possible, and got hungrier and hungrier as the day went by. Every day he would wander about the streets, looking for a vegetarian restaurant, but in vain.

Just when he was getting quite desperate, he found what he wanted. The food sold there was very good indeed, and at last he was able to satisfy his hunger completely.

Instead of giving his time entirely to his studies, Gandhi tried hard at first to become a perfect "English gentleman." Like so many young men of his age, he was attracted by what was new and foreign without considering whether it was suited to him or not.

He took notice of fashionable people and tried to copy them in every way. He wasted a lot of money on buying smart English clothes, a tall silk hat and so on.

He spent ten minutes every morning in brushing and arranging his hair. He started taking lessons in ballroom dancing, in playing the violin and in elocution. What a change from the shy boy on the ship who would not even talk to other passengers. But these new ideas of Gandhi were not to last long.

After three months he suddenly understood how silly it was to waste his good brother's money on learning dancing and such things. They would not make him a good lawyer, and he had come to study, so that when he returned home he might earn a lot of money and help his family.

NOW there is another thing in Gandhi which we must notice carefully, and it is this, as soon as he found out that he was doing a wrong and a silly thing, he at once stopped doing it, and tried to find out what was the right thing to do.

So now, as soon as he saw he was wasting both time and money on his dancing and music lessons, he stopped. After this he gave all his time to serious study.

Having seen that it was his duty to save his elder brother's money, instead of wasting it, Gandhi now tried to spend as little as possible to make up for what he had already squandered on dancing lessons and smart foreign clothes.

He began to keep a careful account of every copper coin, writing down the amount spent on every bus fare and postage stamp. When he grew older he advised all young people to do this.

Next, he decided to walk as much as possible, finding it good for his health. In this way he also saved a lot of money by not taking the bus.

This habit of daily walking he kept up all his life. When he was quite an old man he would walk up and down the verandah during heavy monsoon rain, so as not to miss the benefit of this daily exercise.

All this saving of money made Gandhi feel that he was living in a very sensible way, until he got to know some other Indian students living in London. Several of these young men were very poor indeed and they lived so simply that it made Gandhi's way of life seem still very rich. Many of them even cooked their own food in their own rooms.

Feeling that he could certainly do what these boys managed to do, and so save still more money, Gandhi left his comfortable boarding house and went to live in a very cheap room. There he bought a very small cooking stove and began to prepare his meals himself. As he did not want to lose too much time over this work, he ate very simple things only, such as porridge and cocoa. Meanwhile he studied hard and made good progress.

JUST about this time there was a wonderful exhibition in Paris. Gandhi thought it would be a good idea to visit it and see the lovely and famous city of Paris at the same time.

Paris is not very far from London, as you know, so the trip did not cost much.

Being by now a very sensible young man indeed, Gandhi began by buying a good map of Paris and a guide book of the exhibition. By studying these carefully he was able to see all the important places and things easily without having to spend money on guides and tourists generally have to do.

The thing that he liked best in Paris was to visit all the lovely old churches. He liked to walk about in them and watch the people praying. He would make a comparison in his mind between the noise and bustle of the streets outside and the holy peace and quiet in the churches.

NEXT WEEK: Gandhi returns home.

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Human rights in the colonies

take generations to eliminate."

As an alternative policy, she said, "Let us concentrate on bringing new freedom and democracy which will bring economic advantages to them, give them a full and more complete life."

Canon Collins declared that he thought the Movement for Colonial Freedom is going to be "the most influential movement in the country for peace and progress."

"Colonialism, imperialism, and any attempt to dominate another people is definitely anti-Christian," he said.

"It is not a Christian virtue to be patient at the expense of someone else's sufferings. . . . There isn't any time for patience. There is only time to create a situation of equality and fair chance for all."

He said that ultimately the question of human rights is primarily a question of life or death, of pleasure or pain for some particular person. We ought, therefore, to take action on the grounds of our personal concern for our brother.

STIRRED CONSCIENCE

"I beg you all to put aside all debate of whether it is 'timely.' Put yourselves in the skin of the other person, and then in the light of your stirred conscience act."

Aneurin Bevan, MP, declared that "no one has the right to claim loyalty from those to whom they deny liberty."

"I do not know any case where the powerful have given away power or have given justice away when the people were not demanding it from them."

He declared it was the duty of the colonial people who are suffering from oppression, "to protest against it . . . to give us pain so that in getting rid of the pain we get rid of the injustice. Don't do it in the Mau Mau way," he added.

"It is their duty to fight; it is our duty to join in the fight."

Mr. Bevan deprecated the idea that only by gradual political progress and education should colonies acquire their freedom, and become like the Europeans. This kind of reasoning amounted to saying that if they struggle to gain education and political experience and keep on for years finally "they may reach the point where they will be able to perform an Hiroshima or Nagasaki."

COLOUR BAR MOVES

FROM PAGE ONE

incorporated into the grand apartheid design. But the cost of achieving even this degree of segregation was estimated at £35,000,000 in ten years.

The bland and deliberate hypocrisy of Nationalist policies have never been more clearly demonstrated than in the statements of official policy which greeted the Tomlinson Report.

The government has said that it will not spend anything like this amount of money on the Reserves, that the Report is useful purely as a guide in the formulation of policy, but was not that last and authoritative word which it had been said to be, and in any case the government was working on these lines, but with circumspection and due regard to realism.

And so South Africa proposes to continue the practicalities of integration with the futilities of apartheid, making the African a stranger and a fugitive in the land of his birth without even attempting the shadowy but, to some, plausible objective of total segregation. The effect of the Nationalist Government's statement on the ideologies of apartheid has been much what would be expected among Communist Party intellectuals if the USSR announced that it had abandoned the ideal of classless society, what has long been the case, but intended to maintain the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the disillusion of these idealists of apartheid there lies hope—though dim—of a split in the ranks. But I shouldn't bank on it!

University apartheid

The other grave and important news from South Africa in recent weeks has been the announcement that the Government intends introducing legislation next year to enforce apartheid at the still "mixed" universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town where for many years no academic colour bar has been imposed and the staff, students and authorities have repeatedly and courageously resisted behind-the-scenes pressure to remove their African, Coloured and Indian students.

But the coup de grace is imminent. The Government has appointed another of its famous Commissions—this time to draw up plans for "tribal" universities for Non-White students. This is in accordance with the Bantu Education Act principle of educating Africans only for certain—and lowly—occupations.

Who can seriously envisage half a dozen university-level colleges catering for a total student population of little more than 1,000 students—and this number will decline as the Bantu Education Act schools restrict the horizons and opportunities of their scholars even more than, under the old system of segregated mission-schooling, they were restricted? At South African Universities Non-Whites are fighting to preserve an imperfect but nonetheless real right—the right to seek truth in common with white students.

That right is threatened and must be defended because it is terribly important.

Those who would jeopardise this same right in the new multi-racial university in Salisbury by insisting on full non-segregation or nothing should bear the South African experience in mind. Let us by all means protest at the residential segregation of the Rhodesian university, but let us also keep our sense of priorities and devote our real efforts to preserving what is in Africa an all too rare experience of equality—if only in the classrooms.

Fenner Brockway announced that 12 MPs are this week introducing a Bill to outlaw discrimination in Britain, and that Anthony Wedgwood Benn was introducing a Bill to apply the Declaration of Human Rights to the colonies.

Victor Gollancz, the final speaker, declared that two-thirds of the more than 1,000 Africans executed in Kenya were executed for charges less than murder. "The whole thing is intolerable," he said.

He rejected suggestions from hecklers that floggings and executions were justified because of violence by Mau Mau. "It is absolutely vile for us to do the same thing because they do." He referred to floggings, and said, "of course it is torture."

"Imagine what it would be to feel the lash on the back" and then "ask yourself whether it would turn you to gentle or violent paths."

"If you meet any kind of violence with violence you only add to the violence and create more violence. That is one of the spiritual laws of the universe," he declared. "Life is all one piece. You can't be selective about these things."

"It is your duty not only to fight for these particular ameliorations (in the colonies) but to fight against all outrages that offend the human spirit, all forms of torture . . . all forms of meeting evil with worse evil."

In some respects, Victor Gollancz declared, "in this attitude for human life we have been getting not better but worse."

We had now reached "the final horror, the final blasphemy, the atom bomb." A basically different approach was needed he declared.

Facts and figures on the RUSSIAN CHALLENGE

By FRANCIS RONA, M. Sc. (Econ)

WE are now on the threshold of a period which will see a fundamental change in the nature and purpose of the world's productive capacities, when all available economic resources will be used for a rapid improvement of living standards in those "misery areas" which comprise the habitations of two-thirds of mankind.

At present, however, an unbearable military burden deprives the Western world of the potentiality of large-scale assistance to backward areas.

In Asia, the Bandung Conference marked the turning point; for the first time in history two-thirds of the non-white population of the world agreed on principles of mutual economic assistance and cultural co-operation.

It is to be hoped that, under the influence of Gandhi's India, new moral standards will be set for the development of an economic system replacing colonialism, monopolistic control of production and prices and glaringly unjust inequalities of income.

The role of the "third area" in world economics will be the decisive factor in the rivalry between the capitalist and the Soviet economic systems.

It is obvious that large-scale development requires the importation of productive equipment, the training of technicians and substantial capital investment. Yet during the last 10 years the great Western powers have lamentably failed to recognise and to consider this crucial problem.

The "Bretton Woods Institutions" (World Bank, Monetary Fund) have relatively insufficient funds to spare; these must bear 5 per cent interest or be used for a short term only, without competing with private enterprise.

The Marshall Plan has been twisted into an instrument of militarism and its organisation was taken over by the "Mutual Security Agency." This, in spite of Marshall's own statement (June 5, 1947) that—"our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger and poverty."

THE FATE OF NATO

The US concept of "integration of the West-European economy" (OEEC) had to be modified. The present problem of NATO is not how to carry on but how to wind up. If Sir Winston's suggestion of including USSR is accepted, NATO will become purposeless.

In Asia, the main cause of resentment, if not hostility, is the undeniable fact of century-old colonial exploitation which kept down living standards and prevented industrial development.

Yet instead of offering substantial economic assistance—in accordance with Resolution No. 400 of the UN General Assembly adopted on November 20, 1950—the Western powers have poured out thousands of millions of dollars for weapons, military bases and military aid to the corrupt regimes of Chiang, Rhee, Diem, etc.

The UN Statistical Department has collected numerous data regarding trade, health conditions, education, etc. But there is a significant gap: the comparison of military expenditure in the last 10 years with income levels in the "misery areas." No statistician has undertaken the useful work of publishing facts regarding the fantastic waste of productive resources.

According to National Income publications (UN Statistical Department) the yearly income in 1950 amounted to about £5,000 million in the African continent, £6,500 million in South America and just under £31,000 million in Asia (excluding USSR).

Yet since the Korean War Britain has been spending, on the average, about £1,600 million annually for military purposes, France £1,300 million and USA £15,600 million (\$44,000 million).

Between July 1945 and June 1955 USA gave away \$51,336 million (£18,300 million) in the form of economic and military aid but only a small fraction was given to backward areas for economic development, whereas Western Europe received two-thirds of the total sum.

In recent years Britain has spent about £150 million annually for maintaining armed forces

WITCH-HUNTING 1956

The case of Mr. J. H. A. Lang . . . shows how far we have gone along the path of McCarthyism during the last few years . . . How can we claim to be a freedom loving people if we allow marriage to an ex-Communist to be a good cause for hounding a man out of his job? . . . Ought we not to call a halt and put a stop to such silly nonsense before we plunge any further down the primrose path?

—Letter from Lord Chorley, The Times, June 11, 1956.

THE dismissal of Mr. Lang from a position of considerable responsibility in the Imperial Chemical Industries, not at the request of the Government, but because the Government informed the company that they regarded "as an essential condition of the placing of further secret contracts with ICI" that Mr. Lang should not have access to any such information, has been hailed with considerable dismay from many quarters.

Some newspapers, such as The Times and The Daily Telegraph have given half-hearted and luke-warm support to the Government's decision to remove Mr. Lang, but most of the resulting correspondence shows a sense of some kind of shock in the minds of the writers.

Yet from the moment that the Government accepted in full the findings of the Privy Counsellors on Security in March, and published their White Paper, is was, or should have been, well known that this kind of dismissal of certain people was bound to take place.

It is alleged that the Government's reason for their ultimatum to the ICI is because Mr. Lang's wife was once a Communist, and pos-

sibly, though she is no longer a member of the Party, may be taken to have Communist sympathies.

Even if she had, it is difficult to see how she could acquire secret information unless she was some sort of Delilah, who by ulterior means, catches her husband unawares and robs him of his moral strength. Nevertheless, according to the Church and the Law, man and wife are one, and so if the wife can be suspected of sympathies not in line with British Government policy, then the man must go.

At the time of the publication of the Government's White Paper on Security I called attention in this column to the sinister words "It is right to continue the practice of tilting the balance in favour of offering greater protection to the security of the State rather than in the direction of safe-guarding the rights of the individual."

It is, perhaps, one of the most alarming and amazing statements ever made by a British Government, and accepted without demur by a people who have boasted, not only of their freedom, but of the wars they have fought in order to secure it and retain it.

There was, of course, in the White Paper, the saving clause that any person dismissed under the various headings enumerated would have the right of an appeal to a Tribunal. Whether Mr. Lang, who is not a Civil Servant, but a lawyer employed by a firm not under Governmental control, but apparently liable to Governmental blackmail, has such a right, is not at the moment apparent.

In any case a person removed from his work on such nebulous grounds would find it extremely difficult to prove that his sympathies do not lie in this or that direction, or for that matter that his conscience is clear of any of the sins for which, though not specifically formulated, he must lose not only his job, but his good name.

He can assert that his conscience is clear; he can declare that he has no Communist sympathies and that his wife, in any case, could not influence him; he can swear on oath that he has not, nor ever will give away any of the information he has acquired, but he cannot prove it, and no Tribunal could be capable of making a judgment of that nature.

From the moment of the publication of the Government White Paper, in March, the witch hunt was on; Mr. Lang will not be the only one, indeed there may already be many others without the same means as he has for making a fight and catching the public mind on their own behalf.

People like Lord Chorley, and many others who are now writing to the Press, are shocked at this violation of our much vaunted liberty; what is not recognised is that this is the logical sequence of war and war preparation.

If there were no secret weapons, no "Cold War," no threat of a "Hot War," there would be no need for espionage, no fear of enemy infiltration. If liberty for the individual is to be restored, the tyranny of the witch hunt must be abolished.

DELAINÉ FROM PAGE TWO

The emphasis is on positive training, instead of punitive repression.

And the aim, I am told, is to give prisoners a working day of no less than eight and no more than ten hours.

At present in the Central Prison, Zomba over 100 Africans are being trained as carpenters, builders, blacksmiths and tailors which really is something for prisoners in Africa.

When I travelled through Zomba last week-end I saw two teams of prisoners playing soccer on a completely open sports ground near the main road.

Squatting round the touchline, cheering their cell mates were hundreds of African convicts. There were comparatively few African warders guarding them.

I am told that the staff, both European and African, is encouraged in the view that fairness and humanity will secure more willing response than mere reliance on the repressive force of authority.

Which tends to disprove the convenient but false theory held by so many European settlers that "Africans are different to white people; they only understand force."

June 30!



Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, USA. Published from 1 Blackpool Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Pish & Cook Ltd. (F.U.), 125 Penton Rd., London, N.4.